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was better to err on the side of impatience than of skepticism. We may add that an examination of the record does not wholly do away with either.

CHARLES NOBLE GREGORY.

THE TREATY OF RAPALLO

The treaty between Italy and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which was signed November 12th last at Rapallo, appears now to have been ratified by both parties. The consent of the Italian Chamber was given November 27th, that of the Senate December 8th, and the Prince Regent of the Triune Kingdom, acting upon the advice of the cabinet, ratified the treaty November 22d, the consent of the Skuptschina not being necessary. Finally the City of Fiume, now constituted an independent state, recognized the treaty December 29th. It is to be hoped that this arrangement, while by no means above criticism in its terms, marks the end of the dissensions concerning the disposition of the Adriatic littoral and gives an ultimate solution to one of the most seriously vexing questions with which the Peace Conference was confronted and left unsolved.

There is in this agreement, not only as between the parties immediately concerned but on the part of the other Entente Powers, because of their at least tacit acquiescence in it, the virtual revocation of the secret treaty of London of April 26, 1915, a step which the Peace Conference declined to take, although President Wilson opposed the treaty as giving to Italy much more than Point Nine allowed. The organization of the Jugo-Slav state upon the lines of the Declaration of Corfu, 1917, followed the break-up of Austria-Hungary and was coincident with the armistice. As the treaty of 1915, by which the Entente outbid the Dual Monarchy, was founded upon the continued existence of Austria-Hungary, the boundary lines of the London treaty necessarily had to be recast. Anticipating this dissolution of the Dual Monarchy and the need of uniting the Slavs in opposition to the Hapsburg régime, there had been held in April, 1918, at Rome, the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities, the result of an earlier conference in London between MM. Torre and Trumbic, representing unofficially the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs, respectively. At the Rome Congress the representatives of the same two peoples pledged themselves "in the interest of good and sincere relations between the two peoples in the future, to solve amicably the various territorial controversies on the basis of the principles of nationality and of the right of peoples to decide their own fate, and in such a way as not to infringe the vital interests of the two nations, such as shall be defined at the moment of peace," such pledge being based upon the idea that the "unity and independence of the Jugo-Slav Nation is a vital interest of Italy, just as the completion of Italian national unity is a vital interest of the Jugo-Slav Nation." [1]

[1] Translation of text of resolutions, *New Europe*, VII, 55.

At the time of this congress the text of the Treaty of London had been made public by the Soviet Government of Russia. Having in mind the Torre-Trumbic conference and the resolutions of the Rome meeting, a writer in *New Europe* shortly after the armistice was signed and before the Peace Conference met, was able to predict with unusual accuracy the position which President Wilson afterwards took with reference to the secret treaty and the whole question of the Adriatic: "If one thing is certain at the impending Peace Conference, it is that America will decline to ratify or be bound by the secret treaty of London, and will express herself in favor of an arrangement following as nearly as possible the lines of ethnographic cleavage and resting upon the principles of mutual respect and friendly give-and-take."

In order to compare the terms of the Treaty of Rapallo with that of London it will be convenient to consider (1) the boundary between Jugo-Slavia and Italy north and east of Fiume, (2) Fiume, and (3) Dalmatia.

The line set forth in the Treaty of London gave to Italy Istria and the coast of the Quarnero as far as Volusca, almost contiguous to Fiume. Toward the east the line was to follow the watershed of the Julian Alps, thence curving southeastwardly toward the Schneeberg, leaving the Save Valley outside Italy; from the Schneeberg to the coast the line was drawn so as to include within Italian territory Castua, Matuglia, and Volusca. Fiume was to be included in what the Treaty of 1915 called the "territory of Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro," a phrase which showed that the framers of the treaty had at least some notions of ultimate Jugo-Slav unity.

Opposing this treaty at the Peace Conference, President Wilson proposed a line in lieu of that of 1915, based, it was claimed, upon ethnographic and other data collected by American experts. The line, the "Wilson line" of April 26, 1919, broke from that of 1915 at a point between Tolmino and Cercina and proceeded almost directly south to the mouth of the Arsa, leaving all east of that line, including Fiume, to the new state of Jugo-Slavia. No settlement having been reached by the Conference, a joint memorandum by the representatives of Great Britain, France, and the United States of December 9, 1919, modified to some extent the Wilson line so that Italy might have a portion of the Istrian coast upon the Quarnero from Arsa to Finona, toward Fiume, which was to be an independent state under the League of Nations. While this line was not adopted by Italy, it is of importance in that it put Great Britain and France in the position of being willing to abandon the Treaty of London, and to that extent it was a vindication of President Wilson's opposition to the secret agreement.

The line next suggested in the so-called ultimatum to Jugo-Slavia of the following month threw the boundary still further to the east so that Volusca again fell upon the Italian side. The free state of Fiume was to be connected with Italian territory by an Italian *lisière*. This proposition

was put forward jointly by Great Britain, France, and Italy against Jugo-Slavia, with the alternative of the 1915 line.

Following the protest of President Wilson of February 24, 1920, the matter ceased to be one for official Entente negotiation, direct *pourparlers* being carried on between Italy and Jugo-Slavia with the knowledge and approbation of France and Great Britain, with the Treaty of Rapallo as the result. This treaty, balancing Italian claims in the north against Jugo-Slav claims in Dalmatia, more nearly approximates the line of 1915 in the north than that suggested by President Wilson and it is even less favorable to Jugo-Slavia than was the "ultimatum" of January, 1920, against which President Wilson protested. One of the specific objections to the ultimatum line was that it would make difficult the operation by Jugo-Slavia of the railway north of Fiume. The Rapallo boundary deprives Jugo-Slavia of the line of the railway as far as the junction-point of St. Peter, on the direct route from Fiume to Laibach. In addition, solid blocks of Slovenes are thrown into Italian territory. This line, therefore, is Italy's "compensation" for her surrender of claims to Fiume and Dalmatia. It also explains why the Slovenes are relatively the least reconciled to the arrangement.

Leaving D'Annunzio's coup to one side to be regarded as a literary interlude which tended to injure rather than assist Italy, it will be recalled that while the Treaty of London left Fiume, city, district, and *corpus separatum* to the "territory of Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro," the Municipal Council of Fiume declared (October 30, 1918), just prior to the armistice, for annexation with Italy. In opposing such a transfer, President Wilson stated (April 23, 1919) that Fiume must serve as the outlet and inlet of the commerce, "not of Italy, but of the lands to the north and northeast of that port: Hungary, Bohemia, Roumania, and the states of the new Jugo-Slavic group." To the proposition of Great Britain, France, and Italy embraced in the "ultimatum," Mr. Wilson was no more friendly, for while it was then proposed to make Fiume an independent state, the *lisière* was assigned to Italy, and this the President regarded as a menace of ultimate Italian control. In the Treaty of Rapallo, Italy and Jugo-Slavia recognize the complete liberty and independence of the State of Fiume, and engage to respect it as such *in perpetuo*. The State of Fiume embraces the *corpus separatum* as at present delimited, including the city and district of Fiume, together with the *lisière* to connect with Italian territory. No mention is made of any supervision or control over Fiume by the League of Nations.

Adjacent to Fiume and separated by a stream only a few yards in width is Susak, which goes to Jugo-Slavia. By the Treaty of London the coast of Croatia (referred to as lying between the Gulf of Volusca and Novi) was assigned to the "territory of Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro"; to Italy was given "the province of Dalmatia in its present extent," in

addition to numerous islands. A large portion of the Dalmatian coast from Cape Planka (between Travi and Sebenico) to Cape Stilos in Albania was to be neutralized. The Treaty of London had assigned to Italy practically all of the coast except that part formerly belonging to Hungary —a very small extent—and that portion belonging to Montenegro and Serbia. Albania was to be subject to a possible partition among Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece. With the formation of Jugo-Slavia the position of Montenegro as an international entity practically disappeared. The Treaty of Rapallo makes no mention of either Montenegro or Albania, the partition of which President Wilson opposed. Zara and its environs and the islands of Lagosta and Pelagosa are given to Italy.

The Treaty of Rapallo, therefore, does not diverge very greatly from the Treaty of London as to the boundary east of Trieste and north of Fiume. Dalmatia goes to Jugo-Slavia as compensation for her concessions in the north, and Fiume becomes an independent state. To what extent the terms of the treaty will permit Fiume to maintain her economic position remains to be seen. It may be a second Cracow.

It would seem that the United States has no interest in this settlement, as President Wilson, while protesting against the ultimatum of January, 1920, stated that there could be no objection to a settlement reached by direct negotiation between the parties immediately interested. No doubt the hint was taken, direct negotiations had, and the influence of Great Britain and France exerted upon Jugo-Slavia for the acceptance of a line really in Italy's favor.

J. S. Reeves.

THE FEDERATION OF CENTRAL AMERICA

At a time when the spirit of nationalism is disrupting ancient empires and rendering more difficult the task of international organization, it is a great relief to find a group of nations abandoning their separate existence to form one unified nation. It is a special pleasure to witness this happy event on the Western Hemisphere, whose interests have been too much ignored in the vaster ideal for international unity.

The recent decision of Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, and Costa Rica to form the Federation of Central America is of considerable interest and importance. The failure of Nicaragua to join the Federation is most lamentable, but there is reason to believe that her entrance into the union is only delayed by reason of certain diplomatic complications, which should be speedily removed.

The Constitution of the Federation has many features suggesting the American Constitution. An even larger degree of local sovereignty is left